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LAWRENCE, KANSAS, MAY 29, 1858.

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teils us not to oppress the weaker, and turn and oppress them simply because they are weak. To some men, the shirts

they have made, might be the shirt of Nessus. I wish these old scrongers who pay five cents for making shirts, might be

BY G. W. BROWN & CO.

SPEECH HON. JACOB COLLAMER, of Vt. S THE REPORT OF THE KANSAS CONFERENCE

ered in the U.S. Senate, April 27, 1858. The Senate having under consideration he report of the Committee of Confersee on the disagreeing votes of the two

State of Kansas into the Union— Mr. COLLAMER said: Mr. PRESIDENT: I do not propose, this time, to occupy the Senate at any great length; but I shall endeavor, as coincily and distinctly as I can, to state, the first place, why I, together with those who act with me, opposed the Sen-ate bill, without going into the argument on its merits; and, in the second place, why we voted for the amendment of the use of Representatives; and, in the third place, why we cannot vote for the

roposition now offered. First, as to the Senate bill : its subtance was, if adopted, that it admitted Kansas into the Union as a State under he Lecompton Constitution without any further action of the people. Our objec-tions consisted essentially in these: that that constitution was framed by a convention which was the fruit and result of usurpation and fraud; that the usurpation which had been instituted originally, ntinued, so as to deprive the people of e opportunity of free voting on the subject of calling a convention; that an unfair and imperfect census was taken, by which a large part of the people were deprived of the chance of voting for delegates; that he constitution was framed in defiance of the will of the people, as manifested in their then recent election for a Territorial Legislature, and was made in point of by those who acted in and of it, by a minority of those criginally elected to the convention; that the constitution was professed to be pre-sented to the people in a disguised and deceptive form; that the people themselves were deprived of the opportunity which had been promised to them, of passing upon the whole constitution; that election was held, wherein they pro-sed to obtain some six thousand votes for the constitution with slavery; that an lection for State officers was made under appointed by the people, and unknown to the law; that that election was frauduently conducted : and that, besides all this, the people, at an election held on the th of January, by virtue of an act of the admitted under it; and that it was not

large majority, voted us down. Our objection was not merely that the constipeople. We insisted that, in point of fact, people had, on the 4th of January, under lawful authority, voted directly reject it by a very large majority. That, to be sure, among others, was ground of complaint; but all these objections, and others which were presented by other gentlemen, were aggregated in the com-plaint. The Senate, however, decided that, in point of fact, the Lecompton constitution was the constitution of Kansas, so far as the action of Kansas was concerned, and that it was only for Congress to say whether they would accept it; that the people had made that constitution legally by their delegates—not only formed it, but adopted it, and that the only question of difference existing there, was one in relation to slavery, which, as they said, was fairly submitted. They there-fore passed a bill admitting Kansas as a State with that constitution.

entitled to be regarded in any measure as

a constitution presenting the views of the

sight.

But, sir, as I said, this proposition profere passed a bill admitting Kansas as a State with that constitution.

I next call attention to the amendment presented by the House of Representatives. What was its character? Why was it voted for? So far as I could understand it, the substance of it, without recurring to particulars, insisted on three things: first, that the Lecompton constitution should be submitted to a vote of the people, and if they adopted it, very well—it was to atand; but, second, if they are a convention, to form such a constitution as they wished; and, that, upon being at they may have a convention, to form such a constitution, as a State with such new constitution; and third, in order to secure fair elections on the constitution, a board was formed, consisting of the Governor and Secretary of the Tarritory, appointed by

"we make you this offer of land, but if"

House amendment for another consideration, and that is that it provided a fair board by which elections were to be conducted. We said the previous elections in Kansas had been controlled by violence and cor-ruption and fraud, but there was a chance is artificial in its character; it is calcula to have them safely and honestly conducted; and so much security was felt in the board provided by the House amendment, that we were even willing to say that when that board had supervised the election, appointed the officers, received the returns, and adjudicated upon those returns, the whole subject might be settled by the proclamation of the President, and we were led to the latter merely from

confidence in the former provision. But another consideration, and perhap the most important of them all, was that

step: the proposition which is offered as a substitute for both those bills—the proton constitution upon the people without their consent, and who voted for the pro-position of the House of Representatives, those leading features of security, and those objects which we desired to attain, which were given to us in the latter proposition. I will state its leading provisions Virginia, [Mr. HUNTER,] "it does not subso treat it. It submits a certain question to the people; that is, whether they will accept certain land grants; and it provides that if they accept those land grants, then, that, if they accept those land grants, then, and in that case, Lecompton shall stand as the constitution; but it further provides, that if they reject that proposition in that of the proposition was not merely that the constitution. The land grants, then the next place, the proposition which is now before us produces no finality; it makes no settlement. It only makes a State, unless they have themselves delegated that power to their own constitution. Then, I ask, how came the Senate to pass the original bill, by which they jumped over all objections of that regard to the land grants, they reject the settlement provided they adopt the Le-Lecompton constitution. Now, I ask, is it true, as the Senator from Virginia says, that it is consistent with the former action of the Senate? Does it not submit a question to the people by which they may reject the Lecompton constitution? Certainly it does. Did not the Senate say, in the former bill, to those people. "it is all great and that is the only finality in one result. If the people do not vote to accept the Lecompton constitution? Certainly it does. Did not the Senate say, in

to you, and liberal in their character, you

controversy. It was because the House it is a slaveholding Territory, and there- you have me for emperor? that is all. amendment did end the controversy that fore if the people vote for these land it commended itself to the acceptance of those who voted for it on this side of the Chamber.

Chamber.

Now, Mr. President, I come to the next them, they are to endure slavery under a territorial form of government. That is

position of the committee of conference. I ner in which this new bill presents the do not propose to go into its details; but let us see whether it gives to those of us population. It seemed to be agreed on this condition on which they were to be who voted against enforcing the Lecomp- all hands, and it was provided in the bill admitted; and, therefore, this bill goes on passed by the Senate, that the numbers of the people of Kansas were sufficient to justify their admission. They had numbers enough to admit them two years ago, if they would make a constitution to suit you. You thought they had numbers enough to admit them under the Lecompins or by their own votes, The first is, that the Lecompton constitu-tion constitution. There are numbers refusing to ratify the amended ordinance tion shall be presented to the people of enough of them now to justify their admis-which you submitted to them on condition Kansas for their acceptance or rejection, sion as a State, if they vote for this that they should not have the ordinance "Oh, no," says the honorable Senator from constitution; but you give them to which the convention had made? The understand that there are not numbers Senator from Virginia says the difficulty mit the constitution to the people." The enough, if they vote against this constituis in regard to the ordinance proposing
majority of the Senate, by the bill they tion, to make a free one. We have here Territorial Legislature, by a very large majority of the Senate, by the bill they majority repudiated it. These, put together and aggregated, constituted our state and aggregated, constituted our carned not to be passed upon any further and specific to make a free one. We have here to forego the right of taxing public lands, if it has that right, and the grants in constituted in the state shall agree to forego the right of taxing public lands, if it has that right, and the grants in constituted our carned not to be passed upon any further. cerned, not to be passed upon any further and shall not be admitted if she will not sideration of which it will yield that right, objection to the Lecompton constitution; objection to the Lecompton constitution; by the people; and he says this bill so have a slave constitution. There are people and the says that is a matter on which the says, that is a matter on which the says that is a matter on which the says, that is a matter on which the says that is a matter on which the says that is a matter on which the says that is a matter on which the says, that is a matter on which the says t

> tainly it does. Did not the Senate say, in the former bill, to those people, "it is all perfect on your side, and you shall have no opportunity to reject Lecompton?"— you should be admitted on conditionally; and I say they now propose a question to the people by which the people may reject Lecompton; and yet you say that you do not subject the Lecompton constitution to their vote! The two are utterly inconsistent; and there is no ingenuity or sophistry, though the gentleman may have much of the former, if not of the latter, which can by possibility disguise or blink this out of sight.
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> no settlement, but leaves things in statu quo by declaring that the people of Kansas as shall remain under a territorial form of government for an indefinite and unlims as shall remain under a territorial form of government for an indefinite and unlims that part of time. I do not know that that perform of government for an indefinite and unlims they proposition will really the bill passed by the Senate should be admitted on condition that the ordinance, we make the grants; but the bill passed by the Senate should be admitted on condition that the ordinance should be admitted on condition that the people of time. I do not know that the proposition will really the provided that nothing contained in the bill should exclude them from leave much practical effect. It seems to me to be rather brutum fulmen, because I suppose Congress can at any time admit them, notwithstanding this declaration; but, after all, that is the effect it is intended, it this bill passes, that they shall understand that if they do have on the minds of the people of Kansas. It is intended, if this bill passes, that they shall understand that if they do have much practical effect. It seems to be rather brutum fulmen, because I suppose Congress can at any time admit the ordinance, we make the grants; but the bill passed by the Senate b ight.
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> But, sir, as I said, this proposition probar to their coming in until they have a
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calling upon the people of Kansas to act do it at the peril of taking upon you a constitution that you detest." It is the very manner in which the question is put to the people which is objectionable. It to the people which is objectionable. It wotes, the constitution of their State government. It is fundamental, it is the first constitution of self-government. Now to mislead.

We have complained a great deal that the Lecompton constitution was submitted to the people in regard to the question of slavery, in a certain manner, which was platform? Its pledge was, that in formunfair, deceptive, and dealing in duplicity. ing a State constitution the people should That submission was this: "You may vote be left perfectly free to mould their instifor the constitution with slavery, or for tutions in their own way. Now, the the constitution without slavery; but you people of Kansas are called upon to take have to vote for the constitution, at any action about the adoption of a constiturate, which has slavery in it in either case." tion, to pass a vote which shall put that Now, how is it here? We will put to you constitution in force, or reject it; and are part of Congress, to endeavor to get rid of the question, "Will you vote for these they left free? They are trammeled up the House amendment proposed a course land grants? But now remember, if you to that one single act, whether they will now remember, if you to that one single act, whether they will now remember, if you to that one single act, whether they will now remember, if you to that one single act, whether they will now this controversy in either event and at all events. If the people of Kansas received against the land grants, you are to have any constitution they want, to shape any and accepted the Lecompton constitution always in your Territory without a constitution as they may desire it to be, in relation to any of their institutions. It received; and if they did not, they were constitution with slavery, or slavery with- short, the vote seems to be very much to call a new convention and form such a out a constitution, but slavery at any rate. like the case of Napoleon III., who constitution as they pleased, and when That seems to me to be the way in which allowed the people of France to vote, not that constitution was ratified they were to the question is put to them; because you whether you will have an emperor, not it is intended, at least it is well calculabe admitted. There was to be the end of hold that, under the Dred Scott decision, who will you have as emperor, but will ted and ingeniously devised, to secure if Mr. President, I wish now to say a few

> to the ordinance, that we did not ratify it: The next objection I have to the man-

Secretary of the Territory, appointed by the President, and of the presiding officers of the two Houses of the Territorial Legislature, elected by the people; and this board was to direct and control the elections and their returns pass much as saying to them, "we make you this offer of land, but if you will not take this offer of land, liberal as it is, now, see the danger you run of never getting it." Again, this same bill board was to direct and control the elections in Kansas as heretofore? Shall we have taken any step to cure it? Not at all. Will they not continue to call conventions and ask for admission into the Union that the elections in Kansas have been either by violence at the polls, or by fraud and false returns afterwards a conducted to direct and control the elections in Kansas as heretofore? Shall we have taken any step to cure it? Not at all. Will they not continue to call conventions and that the elections in Kansas have been taken any step to cure it? Not at all.

sas who desired to have the Lecompton Constitution, voted for it, either with or without slavery, on the 21st of December. Six thousand votes were returned as having been east on that occasion. I do

really cast, but call it six thousand. I suppose that about all the people of Kansas who desired to reject the constitution sas who desired to reject the constitution altogether, voted against it on the 4th Under these circumstances, can there be any reasonable doubt as to the views of Viewing it in that light, I consider it altogether wrong to resort to any contrivances, any devices, any expedients, on the that expression of the will of the people, and to fix upon them, in any way, a constitution that we know they do not de-

exceptions I have made to it, and yet more. It proposes to submit the question to the people of Kansas, at such a time, and in such a form, and under such peculiar circumstances, that we must see that ted and ingeniously devised, to secure if possible, the success of the Lecompton that, whatever may take place, if the Constitution, whether the people really question of accepting the land grants is desire it or not.

Among the other means which may be counted upon for possible success in this vote, is the improbability of getting the people to vote against a proposition lands, which proposition they like, cause a constitution may follow. Is it not operating as a blind upon the people ? "Here is a fair and liberal proposition to you of land ; do you not like it ?" Every man may say, "I like it." Then comes the question, "will you vote for it?" "No, I will not vote for it, because I will have to take such a constitution with it. " Is it to be expected that every man in Kansas will understand that? Is not the very manner in which the ques-tion is presented to him, calculated to dis-

guise the real question, and to delude him. Again, we know that the people have been harassed and dragooned and contin-ued under all sorts of violent oppressions, which the forms of law allow, for many years in succession. I need not go over the story of the violence and the wrongs which they have suffered, and that long and severely. They very much need retion? Does not the final and ultimate pose. Now you propose to them that they determination of it rest with a certain Mr. may have repose. How? If they will Calhoun to-day? Is it not altogether take slavery. Otherwise they are to have no repose, no security, but are to be subjected to a still longer continuance of their sufferings, and to endure longer trib.

that they will vote for it, because all are to be actually issued to a majority of those who 'desire the places of Senators the representatives of the Free State parand Representatives and Governors and Sacretaries and Treasurers and other offices, all those who hope for, and have some reasonable expectation of succeeding in obtaining some of these offices, desire to get Kansas in a State form as soon as pos-sible. You will have all that weight to obtain a particular slaveholding constitution, though it is not the constitution the people desire. Besides, you have the assistance of the territorial officers appointed by the Executive. They well know what the william of the territorial officers appointed by the Executive. They well know what the william of the transfer and considerations, a vote of that people, by which they shall take upon themselves this slave constitution, abhorrent to their feelings.

Mr. President, I do not wish to detain what the ruling majority here desire to effect. They know that they desire to effect the adoption of the Lecompton Constitution. That is well understood by the Governor, the Secretary, the marshal, the district attorney, the land officers, and all the other officers of this Constitution. to be counted upon. That would not be so if it were submitted to the people to make such a constitution as they desired. That would be an entirely different effect and then the action and influence of these

officers might be entirely neutralized. Further, instead of saying to the peo-ple of Kansas, "you may settle this question by forming such a constitution as you want," this proposition gives them cernment and their virtue; but I think no such opportunity. It is so framed as to present to the world this view: "the such will be the result. Certain I am that majority in Congress have always desired to have this matter settled, but the Kansas people want to keep it up, and the Ab-Now we have offered to let them make a that it will secure the purposes for which State constitution if they please; that is, it is designed by these contrivances—seto take the Lecompton Constitution; but they have coolly rejected it." This being done, it may be argued, "can we not say to the whole world, do you not see that it is the Kansas people that try to this view, it seems to me that the thing it that it is the Kansas people that try to keep this question open; they would not adopt the constitution we offered them;"

and they must incur displacement in this light, regarding it in this light,

certainty that when the Lecompton constitution, with slavery, was presented to the people of Kansas, it would be rejected; and there was, therefore, no hazard in voting to give them an opportunity of that But, sir, we were induced to vote for these grants which are acceptable.

But, sir, we were induced to vote for these grants which are acceptable and the vote of the street and the vote of the s them with motives of that kind. If they follow it, they will certainly be deluded Just so sure as the Lecompton Constitu tion is put into effect and operation, it will not be amended. If they attempt to amend it immediately upon its being pu into operation by the action of the newly elected Legislature, the Governor would veto the act. The Free State people have not got two-thirds of the Legislature, at they are not to have it anyhow. The a tempt to amend the constitution will be stopped: but if it were to go on, whenever that resolves itself into a judicial question, as it may at any time, and is presented to the Supreme Court of the United States, it will no doubt be decided that the people cannot alter their constitution contrary to the provisions of that constinational compact by which people have come into the government of the majority on that condition, and being thus in the nature of a compact, it is incapable of being changed, except agreeably to the terms of the compact itself. They will be deluded in that; and I suppose, indeed I know, that this is well calculated

effectually, time will determine. I have very little hesitation in question of accepting the land grants is presented to the people, under this bill, rely upon it, Mr. President—I speak merely from the lessons which the history of Kansas has taught me-a majority will be returned in favor of accepting the land grants. I say that a majority will be returned for it, in all human probability, whatever the actual votes may be. I do not agree with the honorable Senator from Kentucky, that the result will be otherwise, and that the proposition will be rejected. I do not say that I do not believe a majority of the people will vote against it; but I say the returns will show a majority the other way; and when I say that, I speak merely from the les-sons taught me by the history of Kansas

There is another matter that equally bears upon this proposition, and address-es itself to us on this occasion. Au elec-tion has been held under the Lecompton constitution; and if the people accept these land grants with this condition, of course, then, I take it, they are to abide ulation. accept the Lecompton Constitution under
In the next place, it may be counted the belief that the certificates of election

this bill that is now presented here, whenever it shall come up properly, proposed by the committee of conference. It is utterly inconsistent with the votes we have given in relation to the House a mendment. I do not know but that, if it be presented to them, the people of Kansas will manifest a continuance of the virtee and endurance they have heretotory of the property of the control of the property of the pr the other officers of this Government in have given in relation to the House the other officers of this Government in amendment. I do not know but that, if to be counted upon. That would not be it be presented to them, the people of

The eloquent Rev. Dr. CHAPIN delivered an able lecture, a few weeks ago, in New-York, on the rights of women, which was listened to by the Aldermen, Common Council, ten Governors, Postmaster, nearly all the officials, and an immense audience of those in private life. The N. Y. Tribune reports the substance of it, as follows: The lecturer said : The originality of

pay ave cents for making shirts, might be haunted with women's ghosts, who should bear the inscription, "More work and better pay." But there is another class who perish morally. We must not shrink from all the facts, and it is a fact that want of work has a great deal to do with driving to shame the 20,000 women in our city who walk our strate. any thought is secondary to its truth. If it is old, it should be welcomed on account of respect due to age. His subject led him to consider whether woman is poten-tially what she ought to be. The relation our city who walk our streets, smile is only seen by the gas light, the shame is not all with them. upon him who offers the price of dishonor; shame upon those honorable women who smile upon the victorious debauchee; beantiful expression of the great law of nature. Woman is simply the equal of shame upon ourselves if we nourish any prejudice which depreciates the value of woman. Let all these shames blend with have no right to determine what is woman's sphere by any arbitrary prejudices. I cannot recognize any such fact the shame of the poor lost girl, and lighten a little the curse that bears too exclusively upon her. Here are these two classes who must have work or else honorably or disas man's rights or woman's rights; I only recognize human rights. Woman's orbit is the orbit of her humanity, and hence she ought to be man's equal before the world, before the law, as she is before honorably perish.

But there is another class of women God. And let no one be disturbed by visions of strong-minded women, with who are compelled to work, conce whom one of the noblest women of our spectacles, lecturing on Kansas. question is, what is truth, and not what are the imaginable consequences. Man may run against God's will, but cannot alter it. I urge that woman should actually be something more than she has been held to be. She has been placed above

n the garden to listen. In rude society,

day (Mrs. Jameson) asks if a more enlarged social sphere cannot be sillowed woman? I can merely say, that the field is indicated in the philanthropic institutions of our age. It is exemplified in women like Elizabeth Fry, and Florthe scale and cast below it; she has been ence Nightingale. [Applause] One of man's slave and his empress. In one place you may see her the poor drudge of the seemed to do him good the wash tab or a like the wash-tub or the needle, working to support a drunken husband; in another pliment to her was that of another poor pliment to her was that of another poor pliment to her was that or and sick man, who said to her, "I believe you sick man, who said to her, "I believe you sick man, who said to her, an angel." How place we see her in some parlor, listening sick man, who said to her, "I believe you are not a woman, but an angel." How much better is that than the homage of the drawing-room, or triumph of a firstpictures. What we want is some way of deliverance for woman from being a mere slave, and something more substantial than those accomplishments which make her but a mere gewgaw. The legal argument has already been presented, so I consider how many claims there are out of their presents of the property shail pass on to the subject of woman's this sphere. Let us not fear any ridicule education. Woman ought to be rendered which may be cast upon us. Ridicule is the less dependent upon man. Our present state of society too often so trains her as to make marriage an absolute processing the lack of heavier artillery; it to make marriage an absolute necessity.

I am glad if there is some advance in this respect; I am glad if some women and clergymen are regarded as something else woman, scheming in Wall street, or shoutthan respectable paupers. Woman can ing in Tammany Hall. But when called become what she should be, and do what to step forward to the line, who shows she should do, only by a genuine education. I cannot see why there should be
a very sharp discrimination between the
education of boys and girls. If a certain
kind of learning will develop the intellect
of the low why not of the girl? You may say woman cannot be a Newton or a Shakspeare. Well, if she can't she won't; and so where's the harm? [Laughter.] Why should a woman, with a liberal education, be less fitted for the duties of a wife or mother? If in the cultivated mind the she was a shake of civilization will never the she may have been out of her sphere, out of the circumnavigated the globe. [Applause.] I am inclined to believe that a woman starving in the streets, is fully as incongruous as a woman in the Senate or the Forum.

The true idea of civilization will never the she may have been out of her sphere, out of her sphe

there is a reserved force for emergencies, be unfolded till woman has been placed why should woman be debarred from that upon an equality with man. In the cabin blessed skill that unlocks the treasuries of truth and opens communion with the distant and the dead? In many cases woman is brought up not to a self-reliance, but simply to make a settlement for life.

We all have a horror of female gamblers: woman is brought up not to a self-reliance, but simply to make a settlement for life. We all have a horror of female gamblers; but how many women are really gamblers but how many women are really gamblers for a lucky match? Do we wonder there its highest point, her heart will be near than the self-reliance, there were such women. The grandest transactions of history are unfolded, when the stands nearest to man as an equal; she stands nearest t is often the gambler's loss as well as his his hand. Let woman stand upon hazard? In the world's version, it is not ground of her human nature, then charity but money that covers a multitude will be mutual honor and mutual Let woman stand upon the of sins. The rich profligate receives the hand of virtue and beauty. But there would not be so many server the the march from the paradise which they would not be so many server to the march from the paradise which they hand of virtue and beauty. But there would not be so many serpents in the parterres of fashion if there were not Eves in the garden to listen. In rude society.

woman was bought and sold as a slave, and some of our manners are not much better. Christianity teaches us that woman